

Supplement to South Carolinian. Columbia S. C. December 8, 1860. Speech of Non. F. W. Pickens of South Carolina. Delivered in the Hall of the House of representatives, at Columbia, on the Evening of November 30, 1860.

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Speech of Hon. F. W. Pickens, of South Carolina.

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Fellow-Citizens: We are on the eve of great events, *and* I have been urged, as a citizen of South Carolina, to mingle m^y counsels with others, and I have been urged so that I could not authorize myself to decline. I confess to you, fellow-citizens, that I have been so long unaccustomed to public speaking that I am not able to present my sentiments in those measured terms and set phrases, to which your ears are used; but I can say one thing—that I shall utter the sentiments of a heart as loyal and devoted to South Carolina, as ever did beat for her honor and her independence.

I propose, fellow-citizens, to address you first in relation to a great question which has been raised throughout the South, and by many of our friends in the North, and which has been recently made the topic of discussion in the neighboring State of Georgia, upon the appeals made by a distinguished statesman (Mr. Stephens) in such a plausible form, as is well calculated to mislead the superficial and casual observer. If I understand, fellow-citizens, the state of the country, the first great point which has been raised, upon which an appeal has been made to you and to others to hesitate, is to wait until a great overt act is perpetrated by the incoming Administration; that the President elect has been elected under the forms of the Constitution, and we are appealed to, to wait until an overt act is committed, because as good and loyal citizens we are bound to submit, as the election has been perpetrated under the forms and habiliments of the Constitution. Well, fellow-citizens, if it be true that no overt act has been committed, and if it be true that it was done under the forms of the Constitution and upon an immaterial and not a vital point, then I admit that there is much truth in the appeal. But, fellow-citizens, I propose to show to you from the record that the great overt act has already been committed, and that it is vain and light and trivial to wait until the President shall commit an overt act. It is the great act of the American people, in their high sovereign capacity at the election polls, at the ballot-box—the very power which can make a new government, unmake the government, and perpetrate a revolution under the forms of the Republic. And bear me out, fellow-citizens, for one moment, while I consider the nature of this momentous question.

In the first place, what is the Presidency? According to the terms of the Constitution, when that clause was created, making the Electoral College, it was distinctly understood that the College should be firmly removed from the popular prejudice and passions, with the privilege of independently choosing a President and Vice-President, without reference to the popular feeling, passions and prejudices. And the great argument of Mr. Madison was, that it was the vital point in all Republics, that heretofore all revolutions had been perpetrated upon the election of the Chief Executive; that it was the touchstone of real power. But in the short progress of a few years, the whole cause was perverted, and the election of President was practically in the hands of the people. Now we have come to a remarkable period in the history of the country, when the great truth of Mr. Madison's argument is illustrated; that it was upon this very point Republics split—upon the vital point of the election of Chief Magistrate.

Another clause of the Constitution provides that the Electors shall vote for President and Vice-President, but that one, at least, shall be from a different State from the Electors voting; which is, that both officers shall not be from the same State. The reason of this was, they were afraid of the influence of Virginia. She was the predominating State of the Confederacy. She made the Constitution and the Government, and that clause was made to avoid giving to Virginia the power to make President and Vice-President both. There was reason in this; and if there was reason in the framers of the Constitution making it obligatory that both should not be elected from one State, how much more reason was there that they should not both be chosen from one section of the Confederacy upon principles at war with the vital interests of one-half of the States of this Union? And when one-half of the States of this Union become sectionalized, and make the election of President and Vice-President turn, not upon their rights, but clearly and vitally upon a principle which gives them absolute power over the other half of this Confederacy, then I say that they have violated the very spirit, meaning and intent of that great clause in the Constitution. The object was that they should be chosen to represent the interests of the Confederacy of the States; to preside over the whole Union; to do justice to each and every part of the Union. This was the spirit, meaning and intent of the Constitution. Well, am I to be told that because the Presidential election was according to the forms of the Constitution, that therefore we must bear it and submit to it? Why, is it not notorious in the history of republics, that all vital changes which have ever taken place, have taken place upon the election of the Chief Magistrate, still preserving the power of the government under the form of the republic? Why, look at the fall of the Roman Empire. When Cæsar crossed the Rubicon, to plant the Imperial Eagles on the capitol, he still kept up the forms of the Republic. Why, the forms of the Republic were preserved long after the substance was dead and gone forever. The same Roman Senate that once shed such lustre upon the Republic, stood when the Prætorian guard put a tyrant, an emperor, an absolute government, over the ruins of the Republic, and even ordered a horse to be elected Consul, and placed him in the triumphal march; and decreed him Consul. And

this was done under all the forms and ceremonies of the Republic itself; and will any man pretend to say that the whole genius of Roman liberty was not entirely changed, and the very foundations of the entire Republic sapped and destroyed forever. The tribunes, the Consuls and the Roman Senate were preserved long after the Eunuchs of the Palace were the real masters of Empire. In modern times, the Emperor Napoleon III, when he perpetrated the celebrated *coup d'etat*, did he not preserve the forms of the Republic, and submit to the universal vote of the French nation this form and change which he brought about in one night? Will any man pretend to say that the Republic of France was not changed into an imperial despotism?

In our own Government, the Electoral College formerly voted for President and Vice-President without naming who was for President—who for Vice-President. Under this regulation, Jefferson and Burr were before the people, and although not one single ballot was cast for Burr for President, yet the Federal party, under the forms of the Constitution, assumed to themselves the right and power, in the House of Representatives, to attempt to elect Burr to the Presidency, and force him into the office over Jefferson, when he had not received a single vote, and never was thought of for President. And does any man deny the fact, that if Burr had been elected under these circumstances, a vital revolution would have been perpetrated, and within the strict letter and form of the Constitution itself? That, Jefferson saw. He said Virginia would arouse and appeal to arms and the God of battles, rather than submit to this change, and yet that would have been done under the forms of the Republic.

But, fellow-citizens, I propose to show, in this instance, that it is the most arrant, open, outrageous effort ever attempted to be perpetrated in modern times in a free country, to foist over us a new government and a new republic. When this Republican party organized its hosts in the non-slaveholding States, did they look to the slaveholding States for support, for interest, for a vote? They nominated a President and Vice-President on a sectional platform, and from the non-slaveholding States, with the avowed purpose of electing them into power, directly hostile not only to the interest, but the peace and very existence of the South. Lincoln himself, in 1858, used this remarkable language before the canvass. Before he was spoken of for President, on June 15, 1858, at Springfield, he declared:

“A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall, but the Union to be preserved and freedom to be universal.”

He said this before he was a candidate for President. It was, therefore, the honest convictions of his mind. No after explanation, no after apology or position, can wipe out that plain public declaration. Seward, the great expounder of the party—the leader who formed the party—a few months after,

announced the same doctrine in a different form, that it was an “irrepressible conflict;” that it was impossible to have a Union of free States and slave States; that either slavery would cultivate the hills of Massachusetts and New York, or that the rice, cotton and sugar fields of South Carolina and Louisiana would be cultivated by free labor; that there was no alternative; that the contest was “irrepressible;” that this was the great issue. These are not demagogues—these are not common newspaper editors—they profess to be philosophical statesmen, the expounders of their party. They deliberately utter these sentiments, and deliberately publish them. That party met together, and at Chicago ratified the very doctrines which the expounders proclaimed, and we must hold them to the issue. It is an issue that has been decided by the American people at the ballot-box—decided by those who assume to be the sovereigns of this Confederacy. A President is but the agent, the instrument, the servant, and the majority in the Senate, or a majority in the House, may check him, or the Supreme Court may check him, but from the decision of the great American people at the ballot-box there is no appeal. These issues are vital to our very existence, and we are bound to meet them. It is the great overt—the only overt act that the American people can commit. They have openly tendered it to you upon issues involving your very existence, and you have no alternative but to interpose the sovereign power of the State which assisted in the formation of the federal compact, whether violated in all its vital principles or not. This issue you are bound to meet or sink down in eternal disgrace or eternal infamy. [Applause.]

The second resolution of the Chicago Convention declares “that all men are born equal and endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” Let us look at this language for one moment. Mr. Giddings originally introduced that resolution, and it was rejected; but its rejection created such indignation in the party that they agreed to re-adopt it. They did come in, and deliberately adopted it in this form, and I beg you to look at the language. What is the object, the meaning, the spirit, the scope of that declaration which has been decided by the American people? Did it mean to say that all white people are free and equal? If so, it was an absurdity, because no human being ever denied that, under our present form of Government. The denial made by the Southern country has been that the slaves of the South are not the equals of their masters; but here the Chicago Convention, which has carried the election of President and Vice-President, openly declares—what? Declares that your slaves are and shall be your equals. That is the meaning; that was the very intent and spirit of that resolution, upon which they roused their masses and rallied them to the polls, not that they might declare white men free and equal, but that the negroes—the slaves of the South—might be openly proclaimed the equals of their masters; and in this point of view, I say, in answer to the distinguished gentleman of Georgia, (Mr. Stephens,) who has said no overt act has been committed—but that it has been done under the forms of the Constitution—I say that it has been an open violation of the very spirit and genius of our institutions, and it is not only that, but an open insult and falsehood, as far as the South is concerned. And are we

prepared to stand by and wait until an over? act is committed, in the face of the open declaration of the Chicago Convention, that your slaves are your equals, for that is the meaning of it?

The eighth resolution of the Chicago Convention declares that the normal condition of the United States is freedom, and that our forefathers declared person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; and that, therefore, it becomes our duty, by legislation, to maintain this provision, and deny the power of a Territorial Legislature, as individuals, to give legal existence to our institutions in any Territory; and the thirteenth resolution demands that what they call the free homestead bill shall be passed for the free labor of the country. Now, here again, in this eighth resolution, is announced precisely the same doctrine in the same shape and form. Are we prepared to submit to this decision of this Presidential election—are we prepared to see a party coming into power with this open declaration that the normal condition of the United States is freedom? When the Constitution was adopted, there was but one state that did not own slaves, and yet they declared that their normal condition was freedom. The whole object and meaning of this part of the Chicago platform was openly to declare to the slaves of the South and the freemen of the North, that these declarations of Mr. Seward and Mr. Lincoln that there could not be a Union of free and slave States—that either they would all become free or all slave—that it was to work out its own salvation—and that when the Republican party came into power, these great doctrines would be proclaimed, and they would organize the free labor of the North by means of the free homestead bill. Let us look at that for a moment. The capitalists of the North combine to get possession of the Territories of the United States. They import the pauper labor of Europe, and with their capital settle them upon this very Territory, from which the capitalists of the South are excluded. And for what purpose? Not to protect their peculiar rights or interests, but for the avowed purpose of bringing into this Confederacy State after State carved out of the vast empire in the West, where State after State springs into existence, perfectly equipped, as one Divinity sprung from another Divinity in ancient times; and to carry out and perpetrate the very declaration made by the Chicago Convention that the normal condition of the United States is freedom—that there cannot be a Union of free and slave States—and with this acquisition of new States to perpetrate, under the forms of the Constitution, such amendments to that instrument as will give them absolute power over this Confederacy. They would amend the Constitution by a vote of two-thirds of the Senate and House, and then, according to the modern doctrine, it would be done under the forms of that instrument, and we are bound to submit to it.

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Let us look at this question one moment, and we must look to the future. The South is a great country. We have twelve millions of inhabitants, and does any man suppose that we will not

increase, spread and grow as well as the North? Look at Cuba on the one side, and Mexico on the other. Are we to stand still and not spread our institutions and power, when the North has spread hers to the North and to the West? Look back only sixty-eight years ago, and what was the condition of the country then? Why, the mouth of the Mississippi was then held by Spain, and we could not negotiate for it; and yet, in sixty-eight years, where is Spain and where the United State? Suppose the right was now claimed to forbid negotiation for the mouth of the Mississippi, why, it would be like throwing cobwebs over the lion's mane, or like the twining of a serpent around the limbs of a Hercules. Look forward fifty years, and where will these States be? Where will their power be? Will it be limited as now, on the one side by Mexico, and on the other by Cuba? No man who reads the history of the past can believe that. No; we are obliged to grow; it is the law of destiny, and you must increase and go on. The moment you stand still you will decay and die. Progress is essential to your future existence, and yet, according to the declaration of the party coming into power, we are to die inch by inch, like mice in an exhausted receiver. Can we stand still and bear this? Is man to be satisfied merely with his own existence, because he can drag that out in peace? We have an inheritance left to us by our ancestors, and we are bound to transmit that to posterity. If we do not come up to our destiny, we do not deserve the inheritance of freedom from those who gave it to us; but deserve to sink down to the lowest depths of infamy, if we have not the courage to maintain our rights and the spirit and sagacity to anticipate the future. No, we must snuff tyranny in the tainted breeze. We must anticipate these things. To be freemen, we must be thinking and intelligent freemen; and with this powerful declaration of the party about assuming the reins of government, whose capital is to be used for the purpose of setting the Territories of the West and South-west with the pauper labor of the North and of Europe, are we to stand still and wait until an overt act is committed? Suppose it had been proposed, in the Convention, that made the Constitution, that the non-slaveholding States of New England, New York and Pennsylvania should have the power and the right to elect President and Vice-President—would it not have been with indignation. And yet this precise been done without even asking a vote in the South, and upon a principle of open hostility to our institution on points involving our very existence.

What is the power of the President of the United States? The Government of the United States has a revenue of from eighty to eighty-five millions a year. This, at six per cent., is equal to a capital stock paid in of thirteen hundred million of dollars. Well, the President of the United States stands there as the disbursing agent of this eighty millions of dollars. He stands expressly, under the Constitution, as commander of the army and navy, he is at the head of a hundred and thirty thousand office-holders, and comes into power upon the avowed principles of the Republican party. At the head of the army and the navy, he declares that slaves are your equals, and that it is the mission of the party which elected him to make all the States of this Confederacy free. He has laid down, in the platform of the Chicago Convention, the programme upon which these gross outrages are to be perpetrated,

and are we now to stand still and wait until an overt act is perpetrated? Are we to fold our arms and suffer ourselves to be brought low in degradation by this monstrous power which has been raised over us? Shall we wait until we hear the fire bell at midnight? Shall we wait until the sappers and miners are at work at the base of the fabric? Shall we wait until the assassin's knife gleams in the midnight fire? Shall we wait until the red flag of insurrection is openly displayed from one end of the South to the other? No. If you are freemen, and know your rights, maintain them. Let the consequences be what they may, keep time, mark time to the tap of independence; and when the day and hour arrives, march forward and onward, now and forever, and leave the consequences to God, if you have to march alone. [Applause.]

As to the great question of the right to secede and the power of the Federal Government to coerce—in the first place, secession is not a right specially granted by the Federal Constitution, but it is the reserved right of the States. The people of South Carolina, in sovereign Convention, imposed upon themselves the obligations of the Federal compact, and the people of South Carolina can alone relieve themselves from it. The idea of seceding by joint co-operation is a constitutional solecism. How can the people of Georgia and Alabama, by co-operation, lift from us the obligation of the Federal compact? We acceded as an independent State, and we can alone secede separately. It is the only constitutional mode. The Federal Constitution was adopted by the States at different times. Even North Carolina did not adopt it for two years; and New York expressly reserved to herself the right to resume the powers of independent Government, and so did Rhode Island. The Constitution was adopted with these express provisions. The fact is, the fundamental right of succession belongs to the States, and the idea that the Supreme Court has a right to decide any such questions, results from a total misapprehension of the clause of the Constitution. The Constitution declares that the judicial power shall extend to all cases of law and equity arising under it, the laws and the treaties. Well, the very terms of the grant, limit the power granted to all cases of law and equity involving the rights of individuals; and you must show that they involve the very case itself upon which the Court decides. But in a case of State sovereignty, involving the rights of the people, the ? is no issue made up. There is no form of pleadings. It is beyond the reach of law and equity—a high issue, made by the State under her reserved rights. She, herself, is the only tribunal, and there can be no other issue but the issue she chooses to tender, and any attempt at interference by force would totally change the whole Government. The declaration of independence is, that these colonies are, and of right ought to be, free, sovereign, and independent States.

This is no new doctrine. It is a doctrine as broad as civilization. It is the doctrine upon which all Europe is now acting. In 1815, the Holy Alliance made that treaty by which they fixed the boundaries of the Empires of Europe, and they made it to be immutable. They made it as solemn and binding as our Constitution, and they declared that it should not be altered, but should be the fundamental

law of Europe, guarded and protected by all the great powers. And yet, the smaller powers have openly violated it, and the larger powers have openly sanctioned the violation. France takes the high ground that every people have the right to change their rulers by popular sovereignty. Savoy and Nice had openly changed theirs, and Tuscany, Modena, Sicily and Naples had overthrown their Governments, and attached themselves to Sardinia. The English people had taken the ground that there can be no foreign interposition, and yet, under the administration of Pitt, England drenched the world with blood for twenty-three years, for the avowed purpose of taking away from the people the right to govern themselves, and to restore the Bourbons, according to the Divine and hereditary right. And now, in modern times, England, France, and Sardinia stand sponsors around the baptismal font for this great fundamental doctrine which lies at the existence of all rights—the right of the people to decide for themselves their own final destiny. And shall we in this Confederacy, be denied this great fundamental doctrine—the doctrine of the people in sovereign Convention assembled to decide their own destiny, to change their own Government, and make a new Government? Why, from the foundation of civil liberty, this was the principle of municipal law, and of municipal power, and without it there is no clear philosophical conception of liberty in any point of view. It is the great granite strata that lies imbedded in the rock upon which the fabric of all State independence rests. Now I, for one, even if slavery should extend no further, I, for one, would be willing, upon this doctrine, upon this great right of a State to decide for herself, and secede as a last resort; I, for one, would be willing, upon that naked doctrine, to appeal to the God of battles, and, if need be, to cover the State with ruin, conflagration, and blood, rather than submit. [Applause.]

And are we to act alone? Remember that we stand the centre of the whole slaveholding States. South Carolina, though small in territory, and small in numbers, stands in the centre of a powerful commerce and trade, which enters largely into the traffic of the world; and which she secedes, it will not be like the Italian powers, because they have no foreign commerce and trade. We are identified with the power and progress of the civilized world, and the progress of the whole civilized world turns upon the productions of the South. Five millions of the people of Great Britain, directly or indirectly, depend upon the productions of the South alone. She gives the artisan and mechanic laborers their capacity for progress; and when we move, we do not move alone, but move upon a great principle, round which centres the productions of the South. It is idle to suppose that we will have to stand alone. We are to stand propped up by those interests which depend upon us for existence, and, therefore, we should move cautiously and firmly—like men who know their rights, their duties, and their dangers, and yet dare to meet them like men.

We have the capacity to develop new sources of improvement and enterprise. The whole South is languishing for want of confidence. There is no great national faith in the South. We do not believe in the Union. We have no faith in the Confederacy. We have lost it, and we are now in a condition to

languish and die, from the very fact that there is no common interest, and no great hope, to rally upon; but strike out this new channel of independence, and the artisan and mechanic labor will flock to you, and manufacturers will come here and settle among you, giving new life to all the channels of trade. With twelve millions of people, spread over such a country, embracing, as it does, all the great water courses, you cannot only command independence, but make yourselves the freest and most united people in the world.

There are some things I should like to touch upon, and one is in relation to the real interests involved in this matter—and to know whether the State is prepared or not. We know at the time of the Declaration of Independence, the country was totally different. We then had no banks, and everything was in the hands of private bankers; but in the present state of the world, the banks have intertwined themselves in the very existence of society, so as to make all more or less dependent upon them. Much depends and upon the banking interest. We have more banks and banking capital than any State in the Union according to our population, and I would like to know if the banks are preparing to meet this great change. Are they preparing to organize and act together, so as to take control of the foreign exchanges of the country, which bring in the specie and the cash capital that will enable them to stand the issue? If they are not preparing now for this great change, we are in difficulty; but if they have the boldness to take that position, and act so as to control foreign exchange, the pathway to independence will be cleared of its obstacles. The banks are partly private and partly public. In a struggle for political independence, they must make for us commercial independence.

There is another point. Are we prepared in the police defence of the coast? If we make a new issue—if we make an independent State—we must also be prepared to meet all those issues. I take it for granted that you will immediately make laws discriminating against Northern tonnage. Are you prepared to execute that? We have seven hundred miles of sea coast. Instead of defending ourselves in the interior, let us defend ourselves on the coast; and to do so, we ought to have steam propellers. We ought to call out to the sea coast police a gallant officer who now belongs to the navy, (Captain Ingraham,) and who has been able to meet the organized forces of Austria, and defy them—a gallant South Carolinian, who would take charge of it, no doubt, and put it in capital order. You should exercise your discrimination against foreign importations, so as to exclude rigidly every thing that would imperil the interest of the State. There will be the danger, the difficulty. The interior, thank God, is free. There is no power on this earth that can reach the interior of this State. In 1832, the case was totally different. General Jackson was a popular man, and could rally the population of the mountain districts of Tennessee, Kentucky and North Carolina, who were ready to march to his standard. Then there was some cause for arming the interior of the State, but now it is totally reversed. Our sea-coast is open and exposed for over seven hundred miles, and if we

separate from this Confederacy, hundreds and thousands of men, under the declaration of the Chicago Convention, proclaiming that the slaves are born free and equal, and have certain rights, will come down here and prevent the tonnage laws from being executed and also, your necessary discriminating duties against Northern manufactures. I think that the State ought to equip these small steamers, and if an attempt was made to interfere, some dreadful and daring act should be perpetrated, that would strike terror into such invaders. If the State is prepared to defend the coast and execute the tonnage laws, then she should strike as soon as possible.

Banks are partly public and private. When the public is involved in difficulty and danger, and about to be involved in a new system of independence, they belong to the State, and owe it to the State to protect her interest, guard her commerce, and see that it has such clearances and papers as will cause it to be respected in foreign ports. If the papers of vessels are not properly authenticated, it will be equivalent to blockading the sea-coast without a single vessel; bankruptcy will involve us in confusion, and compel us to issue Government paper, which was the cause of discontent in the Revolutionary war, and which made tories in the very heart of the country. It is now on duty to guard in advance, and make the banks come up to their duty, sustain the State in this, her day of great trial and need, and I think the Legislature should call attention to that point, and see that the State is prepared to make this movement felt throughout the Confederacy. [Applause.]

Fellow-citizens, I confess that there are many topics and subjects that force themselves upon my contemplation in the new and momentous issues by which we are surrounded, but it is impossible to touch upon them tonight. But of one thing I am certain, that if we are united, if we come together as a band of brothers, forgetting all past differences, and coming together with brave and true hearts, we are safe. No brave and free people were ever subjugated by a people of different institutions, except by divisions amongst themselves. In this generation of the world, no brave and united people can ever be conquered in the open field. It is only by the private dissensions amongst ourselves, and by those who are disposed to give aid and comfort to others from a foreign country, to interfere with our rights, that we can be overcome. If united and true to ourselves, we can go through this great controversy triumphantly, without the slightest difficulty, and without the slightest appeal to arms. This is a great constitutional right and a great constitutional principle upon which you plant yourselves. It is connected with the whole moral sense of public opinion throughout the world, and when you move on that you stand on a rock from which the combined world cannot move you

But we do not stand alone. Methinks I hear from every gale, and from every breeze that sweeps from the South and West, the shouts of an indignant people rising to their destiny. Methinks I see the beacon fires of an indignant people kindling upon a thousand hills, and the swords of a hundred

thousand freemen now trembling in their scabbards to avenge the wrongs and vindicate the rights of an outraged and betrayed country. [Applause.] It is not numbers that can make a great people; it is virtue, heroism and valor that can make a small State felt and feared amongst her co-States. A people who are free, intrepid and daring are always great.

We have nothing to fear. Move on steadily and straight forward?n your rights. Let your Convention assemble and pass the ordinance of secession now, forever, and as soon as possible. [Applause.] them nail your flag to the mast, and let your brethren in the South, South-west and North know that there is one State in this Confederacy ready to tread the path of independence, if she treads it alone. [Applause.] Thank God, thank God, that the time is not yet come when South Carolina is sunk by degradation and imbecility. Thank God, the time is not yet come when wondering antiquarians shall search among the graves of your gallant ancestors to trace out each obliterated letter and name of the mighty dead from their moss-grown tombs. No, thank God, there are living men yet among us ready to stand sentinel and guard those graves, and stand there and sleep there forever upon those tombs, rather than to wear in peace the chains of slaves and the livery of degradation. [Enthusiastic applause.] If we are true to ourselves, there is no danger. Place your State in order; equip her for the great contest; examine well as to the time when you intend to strike, and if prepared, strike, and strike for independence, now and forever. [Loud applause.]

I regret exceedingly that my want of habit in speaking has total incapacitated me from going through with all I desired to say. It has been so long since I addressed an assembly, that really it embarrasses me exceedingly; but, fellow-citizens, I c?n say that, although I cannot give you the measured accents of a set speech, yet I have come from a foreign country with a heart gushing for the liberty and independence of my country. I come as a son, to lay my head upon the bosom of my mother, and to hear her heart beat—beat with glorious and noble accents worthy of her past and the glorious future. I come, like Autæus of old, to touch my mother earth, and receive from the touch new and electric life from my moth'r. I feel for other country. This was the home of my forefathers. Here I come to pledge all I am, and all I hope to be this side of the grave, on the independence, the rights, the honor and glory of my native State. [Loud and prolonged applause.]

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